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FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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The Limitations of Socialism

By CHARLES F. DOLE

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part II. Chapter XI. By M. K. GANDHI

Almost a Decade of Bolshevism

By JEROME DAVIS

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVIII MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1926 NUMBER 13

WAR

Most states have been militant because war strengthens the central power and makes for the subordination of all interests to those of the state. Hence "history is little more than the Newgate calendar of nations," a record of robbery, treachery, murder and national suicide. Cannibalism is the shame of primitive societies; but some modern societies are sociophagous, and enslave and consume whole peoples. Until war is outlawed and overcome, civilization is a precarious interlude between catastrophes; "the possibility of a high social . . . state fundamentally depends on the cessation of war." The professed ethic of Europe and America is a pacifistic Christianity; the actual ethic is the militaristic code of the marauding Teutons from whom the ruling strata, almost everywhere in Europe, are derived. The practice of duelling, in Catholic France, and protestant Germany, is a tenacious relic of the original Teutonic code. Our moralists are kept busy apologizing for these contradictions, just as the moralists of a later monogamic Greece and India were hard put to it to explain the conduct of gods who had been fashioned in a semi-promiscuous age. Whether a nation develops its citizens on the lines of Christian morality or the Teutonic code depends on whether industry or war is its dominant concern. A militant society exalts certain virtues and condones what other peoples might call crimes; aggression and robbery and treachery are not so unequivocally denounced among peoples accustomed to them by war, as among peoples who have learned the value of honesty and non-aggression through industry and peace. Generosity and humanity flourish better where war is infrequent and long periods of productive tranquility inculcate the advantages of mutual aid. Now war is merely wholesale cannibalism; and there is no reason why it should not be classed with cannibalism and unequivocally denounced. "The sentiment and idea of justice can grow only as fast as the external antagonisms of societies decrease and the internal harmonious cooperations of their members increase."

—*Herbert Spencer.*

We are sorry for the World Court people. Sorry, because they are sincere and devoted and have in their own way been striving for a better world. But how foolish, even immoral, was the way they chose to reach their end, and how richly do they deserve, therefore, the complete and final disaster which fell upon their hopes in the President's speech at Kansas City on Armistice Day. They began all wrong by magnifying the importance of America's entrance into the Court. They knew, or should have known, that it made hardly a pennyworth's weight of difference, so far as the peace of the world was concerned, whether the United States went into the Court or not. The Court was, and is, no real court at all, and can have no more influence in preventing the next war than the Hague Court had in preventing the last war. Yet the World Court advocates presented America's entry as the *sine qua non* of peace! Next, they organized a vast campaign of propaganda to prove that the people of the nation were interested in the Court and would ruin any party that didn't sustain it. There never was a word of truth in this contention, of course, but it was used persistently and effectively all the same. Failing even with such propaganda to win the support of the Senate, the World Court advocates then proceeded to bring forth reservations to break down opposition—reservations which were themselves betrayals of any thorough-going plan for peace. Still failing to win their goal, the Court advocates then resorted to the ignoble device of cloture in the Senate, to force a vote on their resolution. Wonderful—superb! But *now* look at the spectacle. In America, the people have risen up in a series of primaries and elections, and smitten the World Court senators hip and thigh; in Europe, the governments have, with polite contempt, repudiated reservations which to the core are selfishly nationalistic; in Kansas City, the President, a shrewd Yankee, washes his hands of the whole business. Ring down the curtain! The World Court issue is as dead in this country as the League of Nations issue, than which we can think of nothing deader.

We have no desire to gloat over our League of Nations and World Court friends, now so signally and finally defeated in their short-sighted endeavors to serve the cause of peace, but we would make no concealment of our satisfaction that these two issues are out of the way. Long enough have the peace forces of America been divided over the question as to whether this government should enter the League and Court, and if so under what conditions, and why bother with such half-way measures anyhow. Now at last all these controversial questions can be thrust aside, and America give herself to the task, which has been uniquely hers from the beginning, of working out a genuine and thorough-going program for the abolition of war, and of leading the world to its acceptance. The way, at last wide open before us, has been clearly

charted at just this fortunate moment, as it happens, by the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches at the closing session of its Good-will Congress in Pittsburgh. Laying down a program of principles "in which all lovers may work together" for a warless world, the Congress with superb wisdom and foresight put at the head of this program a provision for "a frontal attack" upon war by making it a crime under the law of nations. "To this end," the program reads, "we urge that America take the lead and call an international conference for the purpose of adopting a universal treaty in which the nations shall foreswear their ancient right of waging war and agree to submit their disputes to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and shall provide for this Court a code of international law of peace whose primary status outlaws war and defines military aggression as a crime." It was entirely proper, after laying down this fundamental postulate of all peace —namely, the Outlawry of War, that the Congress should go on to urge American adhesion to the League of Nations and the World Court, for Outlawry would so modify, so transform, these bodies that they would at last be agencies of peace and not camouflaged media of war. Like disarmament, the League and the Court "must await the outlawry of war" for genuine effectiveness. So Outlawry is now the way! No excuse now for dissension on this great issue! "In the past," says Professor Shotwell, "we have spent ourselves in mutual quarrels even more than in the attack upon the war system." But—no longer! We have our path, and we shall all follow it together.

The publication of Asquith's memoirs, and the retirement of the noble lord, may well be taken as the close of the story not only of a great Liberal, but also of the Liberal Party, which he so long and ably lead. Lloyd George and his little group of faithfuls, to be sure, still hold their separate seats in the House of Commons. The Liberal voters in Great Britain will number several millions in the next election, we have no doubt. But the process of disintegration, as between the Tories on the one side and the Laborites on the other, is going steadily on, and the passing years will ultimately see the end of the Liberal Party as such. But there is more involved in this great political change, it seems to us, than a Party. What is really disintegrating and disappearing is Liberalism—that great body of free, tolerant, enlightened opinion and idealism which was at once the product and distinctive glory of the nineteenth century. Liberals are still with us. H. G. Wells confesses himself one in the person of his latest hero, William Clissold. But, great as he is in his own distinctive way, there is little in Mr. Wells that matches the peculiar qualities which made the great Liberals of a half-century ago so noble and grand a type. Our age is restless, hectic, emotional, disillusioned, tired. The Liberals were calm, assured, rational, agnostic, to be sure, but eager for truth, and as tireless as they were bold in its pursuit. That whole Liberal movement of the last century, not only in politics, but in education, science, philosophy, religion, was essentially liberating, uplifting, purifying, and potent in its results. It was all aglow with character, and all awake with vision. Morley was perhaps its last surviving perfect example in England, as Charles William Eliot was in America. Now a different time has come, and with it a different atmosphere. Gone is the quiet tolerance, the steadfast purpose, the questing reason, the fervent faith in man and in his use of liberty. Today we are contented and pharisaical, or rebellious and revolutionary, or disillusioned and disdainful. In no case are we *liberal,* save as we perpetuate in imitation some of the virtues of the ancient tribe. The eighteenth century brought us the Illumination; the nineteenth century, Liberalism. What will the twentieth century produce to match these two?

The Mexican constitution forbids a second term in the presidency. The old constitution was amended again and again to give the protracted dictatorship of Diaz a semblance of legal sanction. It is now proposed to amend the new constitution, permitting an incumbent of the presidency to be re-elected after one or more terms have intervened. This is aimed at making General Obregon eligible to succeed Mr. Calles. If the design was thus to give the clerical party a whip-hand over the present administration, and later to reverse President Calles's policy in the handling of the church question, it has evidently miscarried. The General comes out with an emphatic statement that he approves the Calles policy. The blame for the present deadlock between the government and the Roman church is definitely laid to the account of the clerics. Their only hope of saving even their present wealth and prestige in Mexico is to yield to the government demands, which are backed by the constitution and the laws of the land. The General has several other things to say, in similar straightforward fashion. The appeal of the clerical party to their religious sympathizers in the United States was a mistake. The General points out that Romanists are a minority in the United States, and the Mexican clerical cause was given the standing of a minority issue, pushed by a group of political irreconcilables. Their sympathizers in the United States could not do anything to help them. Their appeal and the efforts of their sympathizers only made their cause the

more hopeless in Mexico. The Obregon document, as reported in the American papers, shows that the General has lost none of his courage nor statesmanlike grasp. He supported Calles in the first place, and he now shows no disposition to alter his attitude.

Along comes William Wallace, in comment on Mexican affairs. His words spring out of the insights of a lifetime of distinguished educational service in Mexico. He says the program of the Calles administration in handling church problems has back of it liberal lay leadership in the church itself. The reforms demanded by the government are not instigated by an atheistical plot. It is not even a Protestant machination. It is a degree of liberalism within the church asserting itself, and insisting upon the observance of the plain provisions of the constitution of the Mexican democracy. So the American Knights of Columbus have gotten off on the wrong foot once more. The only possible justification of the Knights' existence is their espousal of a liberal lay leadership and program within the Roman Church in America. That they at times have showed signs of claiming. Clericalism once feared them. Their activities were watched with suspicion by considerable elements in the Roman priesthood. Had it not been for the follies of the Ku Klux Klan, this power to liberalize clerical policies within the church might have grown apace. But the Ku Klux follies appear to have been compounded by the Knights. Affrighted by white hoods and gowns they have leaped into the arms of the clergy. A way has been found to use them for conservatism if not for out-and-out reaction. Their prestige either within or without the church cannot long survive such breaks as their handling of the Mexican affair. If they allow themselves to become an obedient me-too of the clergy, even these latter will ere long tire of having them around, mussing up situations which the clergy are entirely able to handle without lay interference. And their influence outside of the church will be even more pitiful. The American publicity for their Mexican policy, which they evidently invited, has miscarried. The Knights would better read General Obregon's clear statement.

So the Duke of Marlborough and Consuelo Vanderbilt were not married, after all. They and their relatives and their friends and millions of Englishmen and more millions of Americans and all the rest of the world only thought they were married. Away back in 1895 they appeared as the principals in a magnificent ceremony in St. Thomas' Church in New York when it was assumed that the nuptials were being celebrated. Thereafter for 25 years they lived together in Blenheim Palace under the delusion that they were man and wife. Two children were born of their association. These have grown to maturity, of course supposing that they are the legimate offspring and heirs of a thoroughly orderly and proper union under civil and religious law. But it transpires at this late date that the convenience of either the Duke or the former Miss Vanderbilt, it is not altogether clear which, will be better served by their not having been really married on that occasion. Accordingly, the ecclesiastical tribunal which assumes to be the highest in the world solemnly declares that the assumed marriage is null and void, and is to be esteemed as though it had never been. As a matter of fact the civil courts some time since consulted the desires of the principals and granted them a divorce. But the recognition of a divorce is unthinkable from the point of view of the Roman See. So the solemn farce has been gone through of annulling the marriage. A man who honorably contracted a marriage and lived in at least a certain degree of honor with the woman of this union for 25 years, and who in orderly form was granted a divorce, must not be recognized as entitled to sanction when he applies to the Church for admission to its communion. But that same man, after living with the same woman for the same 25 years is entirely worthy of sanction if their relations may be construed as having been disorderly and scandalous both under the laws of the state and under the sanctions of the Church. To what more ridiculous pass could a slavish ecclesiastical *semper eadem* bring us!

The Limitations of Socialism

It is hoped that this article may represent the minds of a considerable number of people who perhaps see as clearly as any group can the failures and inequities of our present scheme of capitalistic economies, and desire accordingly to help to bring about a vastly more humane and happy social regime, but see also certain deeply rooted principles of human nature, upon the satisfaction of which prosperity, contentment and continuous advancement depend, and which appear to set important limits to the possibilities of developing a satisfactory Socialist civilization. In saying this we go as far as anyone could ask in our loyalty to the social spirit. We regard the social spirit as the

great need of the world; our highest ideals are centered about the fulfilment of the social or friendly spirit.

Among our most imperative ideals also is the maintenance of the open mind. Show us what is true and we desire it; we trust it; we are wretched if we neglect it. We are committed to accept and adopt whatever truth is offered. We can despise nothing that comes to our door in the guise of truth. Neither do we ever find that truths conflict with one another. Under the lead of this principle, many of our group already favor social and economic adjustments which we believe go far in the direction of what avowed Socialists seek to accomplish. Thus we distinctly deprecate the various barriers, survivals of barbarous times, by means of which the men of different nations are thrust apart from free and normal humane intercourse, travel, and commerce. We want to know and respect one another; for this we need freedom of movement; we detest the war system and every symbol or gesture of fear, suspicion and disposition to fight.

We discover likewise in our prevalent forms of holding and transmitting private property in land and other gifts of nature a species of hereditary bondage, which serves to make some men landlords and multitudes rent-payers with respect to values which the more favored class have never created. Many of us stoutly hold that no one ought to be content to benefit by this legalized anomaly. Why should a man desire to possess any exemption or privilege which is the result of custom or statute without being the expression of justice? In general our group desires not so much to set up new and untried systems of law, as to effect release from abusive and meddlesome restraints upon normal human liberty. The world has never as yet seen complete liberty; that is, the liberty of an intelligent and friendly civilization!

Socialism is far more difficult to define than is usually supposed. Are we not all partly socialists? The number of human necessities which simply require social or co-operative treatment rather than feeble and insufficient individual handling, constantly increases. Already through natural growth it has come to pass that an enormous volume of wealth under every modern government is reckoned as public property. The word government is on the way to a profound change of meaning from the old sense of rule and sovereignty to an almost new idea of co-operative enterprise for the welfare of all the people. Can modern people entertain any other or contrary idea of government? With this aim in view there has come in, or at least is coming, a noticeable sense of a common duty or responsibility to which every man tends, and we believe is bound, to respond. Expressed in direct form it may be set forth in this way: "We each ought, and stand ready, in each issue of conduct that arises, to act in such way as may be shown to be for the social welfare." What else than this does any one desire? Not surely to hinder the general welfare in which every man is a sharer! There is thus a grand scale of human societies, beginning with the family or kinship group, and broadening upwards through the neighborhood or the village and city to the State, and finally to the vast commonwealth of all people. Where does the great social rule fail to hold good? It must always be true that the welfare of all men, whenever it clearly appears, must be preferred to that of the lesser individual unit: this arises from the fact that man is the child of a universe life. It is given to man to read and understand and cheerfully to yield his tiny will to the law that prevails in the stars. What can be better for him than that which is best for the whole, that is, for all?

This grand philosophy of social responsibility and duty is not what is ordinarily conceived to be Socialism. It comes nearer to being religion applied to human life. Socialism on the other hand is an economic program calculated to provide a more ample supply of the good things which human industry and enterprise purchase and to bring about a more equitable distribution of this industrial product than has ever heretofore been accomplished. The general end here proposed is of course excellent. The Socialist, moreover, charges that individuals have been and are so using their powers as to capture not only an undue share of wealth, but also the practical control of the political government, so as to have and to perpetuate in the hands of a few an oppressive tyranny over the many. This fatal effect is the more despotic in that the ingenious means by which it is brought about are clothed in the guise of democratic symbols of government and work through the machinery of party loyalty. Thus, a mischievous disease known as "capitalism" is fastened upon the modern world, the very nature of which is to rob the poor man of the honest fruits of his toil. We need not even blame the individual for intending this result; the system is bound, they say, to work to the oppression of the many.

Grant now that friendly men are ready, as they ought always to be, to join hands and put an end to a hurtful disease, how shall we proceed to handle capitalism? The Socialist at this point proposes to capture the government, precisely as he complains of the capitalists for having done, and to set up a brand new system by a majority vote. In other words, we are expected to take the socialist scheme

out of the rather hazy region of dreamland and to fit it into working relation with the actual world. What an enormous venture of the most delicate social engineering is at once involved! We have the same men as before with the same human nature, the same selfish desires, the same capacity for intrigue and obstruction, the same demand for almost infinite patience and magnanimity, the old and familiar possibilities towards passion and faction, and the growing need for a level of vastly higher general intelligence than the world has ever seen.

But at the very threshold of this proposed complete change of our industrial system we are met with appeal to force! Has anything else ever been proposed? What Socialist does not expect to endow a government with compulsory authority to carry out the far-reaching details requisite at once for ordering the lives of a nation as populous as the United States? It is the most tremendous program of standardization that can be conceived. Shall a majority vote determine and at the same time commend the principles of this wholesale standardization? A majority has no quality of sacredness! It is beautiful to imagine a family of brethren filled with a kindly disposition, putting forth their energy together and with one consent holding all things in common. It is, however, dreadful to contemplate any kind of governmental compulsion, enforceable on occasion by legal pains and penalties through which, whether willingly or unwillingly, we shall all be forced to hold our goods and our powers in common,—to behave indeed as if we all loved one another as brethren, before we have ourselves developed this splendid friendly temper, and even in face of the fact that a considerable minority of us have never been persuaded that the social spirit can ever be made to prevail by an outward and economic system of registration and arbitrary requirement! Have the Socialist writers anywhere shown the kind of wisdom to meet such problems as these?

The fact is, that the great overflowing nature, with room enough for all kinds of experimentation, seems constitutionally determined against every set attempt at standardization. We are not now sure that there is any absolute time to set our clocks by! In general, as soon as we have got anything standardized, it is a sign to look for something new. Men dream that they can construct and compel an economic system that will secure to every worker the exactly just reward of his labor! Would most men be satisfied if this could be done? Who knows exactly what justice is in each new issue? Justice indeed is not the highest word in the realm of the ideal things. Good will is higher and more beautiful than bare justice and alone gives complete satisfaction. Already, if we will let good will lead us there are more splendid things in sight for the welfare of man than we can finish within this century.

It seems to be a curious fact that men of the noblest nature have often sought to join the Socialist party and after a while discovered that they do not honestly belong there. Is not this because Socialism is feeble, on the whole, in the spiritual side? And, yet there have been "Christian Socialists." The Brotherhood idea has appealed to them. But the Brotherhood idea strikes an incompatible note the moment when we lift the lash over our brother's shoulders and proceed to force him to take our law for his. History is strewn with the wrecks of good men's efforts to force their schemes of human betterment by harsh punishments. The Socialists have little sense of these warnings.

Moreover, the common understanding of the Socialist appeal is as if we said: Let us proceed to get our rights; let us throw down our oppressors; let us take our turn in the use of their wealth! Now the good will by the use of which we become most human and socially effective, cannot thrive in the atmosphere where that appeal prevails. The profoundest of laws is to give rather than get. The surest way to get justice is to take extra pains to do justice. You get more out of your garden by putting more into it. The Socialists are as slow as any group in working out this proposition, and especially as it applies to human behavior.

No man at his best likes to have a stop-watch held over him. A good worker wants to set his own pace. It is our nature to take the delight of motion and skill in whatever we can do well. Healthy life rejoices in the rush of the harvest time. Socialism can least afford to deny this aspect of human nature.

Socialism has much to say of the equality of men and their output. Socialists even tell us in the face of all the facts that each man's hourly or daily output is worth the same compensation. On the contrary the joy and beauty of human life is the indefinable or infinite element in it. Its worth can never be put into a quart or dollar measure. It is given to the man or woman of friendly purpose to do a kind of social service, to add a quality of human beauty and even of art to work which money cannot purchase. At our best we are never jealous that others are stronger, abler, nobler, more worthy than we are. So much richer on their account is the great commonwealth, whose greatest wealth consists in human excellence, that is, in the excellence of gifted individuals, to be discovered everywhere.

We never, therefore, can treat men on the bare

level of equality. We must always treat everyone for his worth and his possibilities. Social intercourse is a series of constant surprises, wherein we daily find revealed new and richer values in our fellows. Yes! you say, and worse things too. But the rule is one, namely, "to judge men by their fruits." Who has yet found out the full fruitage which a human life ought rightly to yield?

Good society, therefore, must be a condition in which we all try to approximate to a common purpose the very opposite to the idea of equality. We go with Nature, which delights in endless variety; we seek forever to educate, by which we mean to bring to expression and development both the obvious and the hidden values in all men. We are radicals in searching for values; we are conservators in seeking to make the most of one another.

Now the very breath of the best human society is the spirit of freedom. Every species of rigidity and conscious regularization runs down toward lifelessness, inefficiency and discomfort. We maintain that so material an organization as a steel mill or cotton factory, crowded as it must be with different kinds of nicely adjusted social contacts, should be thoroughly anarchistic in the freedom of its people from the sense of alien and offensive restraint. Whatever other word you use to describe it, the enterprise should be co-operative in the willing and persuasive spirit, which is its soul and motive.

Does the eager Socialist cry out that he proposes nothing less than this? We hope so, for how can man be content with less? Can he not then see that the way in which he has hitherto pushed his propaganda—fighting, denouncing, threatening—the old way of overcoming evil with evil, is inhuman, untruthful and hopeless? The way to our long-desired happier world—call it by what name you like—is essentially religious and altogether humane. It presupposes friends; it expects open minds; it depends on whatever good thing there is in any of us; it sets aside compulsion, with its pains and penalties and resulting endless friction; it persuades in reasonable tones of voice. It builds on what some men have already learned to do, in order to learn to do more good things better. It points with shame to abuses, outrages and injustices as now practised, and frankly invites every honorable and kindly man to help put an end to them. It has faith that even "capitalists" may prefer to do good rather than evil. It has faith that good is mightier than evil. In fact, the world has had enough of war—wars of religion, wars of race or dynasty, wars for empire, or for extending commerce; worst of all, class wars! How senseless, wasteful, brutal, destructive it all is, even in the war of words and ugly faces! It always reduces man to desolation and the dust. Why not then use the way of intelligence, of humanity, of friendliness, of faith, in the might of a spiritual universe? This is surely the only road upon which mankind has ever found lasting success or true happiness. For there is a fine quality in men which exactly fits in with this idea and produces the harmony of those who sing at their work.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

Jottings

Look at this headline!

DRASTIC MEASURES TO STOP WAVE OF OUTLAWRY URGED AT THE TRENTON CONFERENCE

The peace forces are evidently worse divided than ever. The League of Nations people are evidently determined to stop the Outlawry campaign which has been sweeping the country. But hold—let us read on. This is an article about banditry in New Jersey, and the police measures which must be taken against the outlaws. Well, well! all that scare for nothing!

If ever there was a book calculated to stir a rumpus, it is Samuel Hopkins Adams's new novel, "Revelry." It is a story of Washington in the days of the Harding administration, and it ought to make the closet skeletons do some shaking.

The Harvard-Princeton fracas is the best illustration to date of the utter degeneration of college football. The situation reminds us of nothing so much as the hostility between the colors of the rival charioteers which convulsed old Byzantium in its most corrupt days. Colleges are supposedly organized for propagating knowledge, but one would never know it.

The Nobel Prize for literature is eloquent of nothing so much as of the international fame of an author. This is the reason why the Prize for 1925 went to Bernard Shaw, whose name and writings have gone around the globe, and was withheld from Thomas Hardy, whose greatness is not yet known beyond the borders of the English-speaking world.

As we look over some of the books of Mr. Wells, we discover them published by Harpers', Putnam, Duffield, Dutton, Macmillan, and now, in

the case of "William Clissold," by Doran. We wonder why such variety? Of course, new publishers want so successful an author on their lists, but why do old ones let him get away?

It is interesting—and pathetic!—to see those sturdy liberal weeklies, the *Nation,* and the *New Republic,* getting *"wetter"* and *"wetter."* Even such intelligent and independent journals find it impossible, apparently, to resist the atmospheric propaganda of New York City.

J. H. H.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1926)

PART II—CHAPTER XI

Christian Contacts

The next day at one o'clock I went to Mr. Baker's prayer-meeting. There I was introduced to Miss Harris, Miss Gabb, Mr. Coates and others. Every one kneeled down to pray and I followed suit. The prayers were supplications to God for various things, according to each person's desire. Thus the usual forms were for the day to be passed peacefully, or for God to open the doors of the heart.

A prayer was now added for my welfare: "Lord show the path to the new brother who has come amongst us. Give him, Lord, the peace that Thou hast given us. May the Lord Jesus who has saved us save him too. We ask all this in the name of Jesus." There was no singing of hymns or other music at these meetings. After the supplication for something special every day, we dispersed, each going to his lunch, that being the hour for it. The prayer did not take more than five minutes.

The Misses Harris and Gabb were both elderly maiden ladies. Mr. Coates was a Quaker. The two ladies lived together and they gave me a standing invitation to four o'clock tea, at their quarters, every Sunday.

When Mr. Coates and I met on Sundays I used to give him my religious diary for the week, and discuss with him the books I had read and the impression they had left on me. The ladies used to narrate their sweet experiences and talk about the peace they had found.

Mr. Coates was a frank-hearted staunch young man. We went out for walks together, and he also took me to other Christian friends.

As we came closer to each other, he began to give me books of his own choice, until my shelf was filled with them. In pure faith I consented to read all those books, and as I went on reading them, we discussed them.

I read a number of such books in 1893. I do not remember the names of them all, but they included the "Commentary" of Dr. Parker of the City Temple, Pearson's "Many Infallible Proofs" and Butler's "Analogy." Parts of these were unintelligible to me, some things in them I liked and some things I did not like. I always shared my impressions with Mr. Coates. "Many Infallible Proofs" were proofs in support of the religion of the Bible as the author understood it. The book had no effect on me. Parker's "Commentary" was morally stimulating but it could not be of any help to one who had no faith in the prevalent Christian beliefs. Butler's "Analogy" struck me to be a very profound and difficult book, which should be read four or five times to be understood properly. It seemed to me to be written with a view to converting atheists to Theism. The arguments advanced in it regarding the existence of God were unnecessary for me, as I had then passed the stage of unbelief; but the arguments in proof of Jesus being the only incarnation of God and the Mediator between man and God left me unmoved.

But Mr. Coates was not the man easily to accept defeat. His affection for me was great. He saw round my neck the Vaishnava necklace of Tulsi beads. He thought it to be superstition and was pained by it. "This superstition does not suit you. Come, let me break the necklace."

"No you will not. It is a sacred gift from my mother."

"But do you believe in it?"

"I do not know its mysterious significance. I do not think I should come to harm if I did not wear it. But I cannot without sufficient reason, give up a necklace that she put round my neck out of love and in the conviction that it would be conducive to my welfare. When with the passage of time it wears away and breaks of its own accord, I shall have no desire to get a new one. But this necklace cannot be broken."

Mr. Coates could not appreciate my argument, as he had no regard for my religion. He was looking forward to delivering me from the abyss of ignorance. He wanted to convince me that no matter whether there was some truth in other religions, salvation was impossible for me unless I accepted Christianity which represented the truth, and that my sins would not be washed away except by the intercession of Jesus, and that all good works are useless.

Just as he introduced me to several books, he introduced me to several friends whom he regarded as staunch Christians. One of these introductions was to a family which belonged to the Plymouth Brethren—a Christian sect.

Many of the contacts for which Mr. Coates was responsible were good. Most struck me as being God-fearing. But during my contact with this family, one of the Plymouth Brethren confronted me with an argument for which I was not prepared:

"You cannot understand the beauty of our religion. From what you say it appears that you must be brooding over your transgressions every

moment of your life, always mending them and atoning for them. How can this ceaseless cycle of action bring you redemption? You can never have peace. You admit that we are all sinners. Now look at the perfection of our belief. Our attempts at improvement and atonement are futile. And yet redemption we must have. How can we bear the burden of sin? We can but throw it on Jesus. He is the only sinless Son of God. It is His word that those who believe in Him shall have everlasting life. Therein lies God's infinite mercy. And as we believe in the atonement of Jesus our own sins do not bind us. Sin we must. It is impossible to live in this world sinless. And therefore Jesus suffered and atoned for all the sins of mankind. Only he who accepts His great redemption can have eternal peace. Think what a life of restlessness is yours, and what a promise of peace we have."

The argument utterly failed to convince me. I humbly replied:

"If this be the Christianity acknowledged by all Christians, I cannot accept it. I do not seek redemption from the consequences of my sin, I seek to be redeemed from actual sin itself, or rather from the very thought of sin. Until I have attained that end, I shall be content to be restless."

To which the Plymouth Brother rejoined: "I assure you, your attempt is fruitless. Think again over what I have said."

And the Brother proved as good as his word. He voluntarily committed transgressions and showed me that he was undisturbed by the thought of them.

But I already knew before meeting with these friends that all Christians did not believe in such a theory of atonement, Mr. Coates himself walked in the fear of God. His heart was pure, and he believed in the possibility of self-purification. The two ladies also shared this belief. Some of the books that came into my hands were full of devotion. So although Mr. Coates was very much disturbed by this latest experience of mine, I was able to reassure him and tell him that the distorted belief of a Plymouth Brother could not prejudice me against Christianity.

My difficulties lay elsewhere. They were with regard to the Bible and its accepted interpretation.

M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.*)

Tolerance—The Other Way 'Round!

Several correspondents have written to me taking me to task for reading the New Testament to the students of the Gujarat National College. One of them asks: "Will you please say why you are reading the Bible to the students of the Gujarat National College? Is there nothing useful in our literature? Is the Gita less to you than the Bible? You are never tired of saying that you are a staunch *sanatani* Hindu. Have you not now been found out as a Christian in secret? You may say a man does not become a Christian by reading the Bible. But is not reading the Bible to the boys a way of converting them to Christianity? Can the boys remain uninfluenced by the Bible reading? Are they not likely to become Christians by reading the Bible? What is there specially in the Bible that is not to be found in our sacred books? I do hope you will give an adequate reply and give preference to the Vedas over the Bible."

I am afraid I cannot comply with the last request of my correspondent. I must give preference to that which the boys lawfully want over what I or others may desire. When they invited me to give them an hour per week, I gave them the choice between reading the Gita, Tulsidas' Ramayana, and answering questions. By a majority of votes, they decided to have the New Testament and questions and answers. In my opinion, the boys were entitled to make that choice. They have every right to read the Bible or to have it read to them. I offered to read the Gita or the Ramayana as I am reading both at the Ashram to the inmates and as therefore the reading of either at the National College would have involved the least strain and the least preparation. But the boys of the College probably thought they could read the other books through others but they would have from me my interpretation of the New Testament as they know that I had made a fair study of it.

I hold that it is the duty of every cultured man or woman to read sympathetically the scriptures of the world. If we are to respect others' religions as we would have them respect our own, a friendly study of the world's religions is a sacred duty. We need not dread, upon our grown up children, the influence of scriptures other than our own. We liberalize their outlook upon life by encouraging them to study freely all that is clean. Fear there would be when some one reads his own scriptures to young people with the intention secretly or openly of converting them. He must then be biased in favor of his own scriptures. For myself, I regard my study of and reverence for the Bible, the Koran, and the other scriptures to be wholly consistent with my claim to be a staunch *sanatani* Hindu. He is no *sanatani* Hindu who is narrow, bigoted, and considers evil to be good if it has the sanction of antiquity and is to be found supported in any Sanskrit book. I claim to be a staunch *sanatani* Hindu because, though I reject all that offends my moral sense, I find the Hindu scriptures to satisfy the needs of the soul. My respectful study of other religions has not abated my reverence for or my faith in the Hindu scriptures. They have indeed left their deep mark upon my understanding of the Hindu scriptures. They have broadened my view of life. They have enabled me to understand more clearly many an obscure passage in the Hindu scriptures.

The charge of being a Christian in secret is not new. It is both a libel and a compliment—a libel because there are men who can believe me to be capable of being secretly anything, i. e. for fear of being that openly. There is nothing in the world that would keep me from professing Christianity or any other faith, the moment I felt the truth of and the need for it. Where there is fear there is no religion. The charge is a compliment in that it is a reluctant acknowledgment of my capacity for appreciating the beauties of Christianity. Let me own this. I could call myself, say, a Christian, or a Mussulman, with my own interpretation of the Bible

or the Koran, I should not hesitate to call my self either. For then Hindu, Christian and Mussulman would be synonymous terms. I do believe that in the other world there are neither Hindus, nor Christians nor Mussulmen. There all are judged not according to their labels or professions but according to their actions irrespective of their professions. During our earthly existence there will always be these labels. I therefore prefer to retain the label of my forefathers so long as it does not cramp my growth and does not debar me from assimilating all that is good anywhere else.

Young India. —*M. K. Gandhi.*

Almost a Decade of Bolshevism

It is now almost ten years since the Russian revolution startled a world immersed in war, and launched the most colossal economic experiment, whether for good or evil, in the history of the world. It is in operation in a country embracing one-sixth of the land surface of the world, governed by a group of fanatics who are trying to establish their dream of a communistic utopia. It is far better to have this laboratory experiment conclusively prove its success or failure in one country, without outside interference, than to have opposition furnish an excuse for its failure.

For nine years we have been deluged with Russian propaganda, red and white, characterizing the existing *regime* all the way from a socialistic heaven to a diabolical inferno. Many of us have long felt that an unprejudiced group of scientists should be sent there to report the truth of what they saw. A few years ago President Harding proposed this, but the Bolsheviks, in accepting, had the audacity to ask permission for a similar Bolshevik commission to come to America. This blocked the entire affair. It was only this summer that the first unofficial mission went to Russia.

The personnel was drawn from seven different vocations and twelve states. Both major political parties were represented. It comprised two business men, President Danforth of the Ralston-Purina Company of St. Louis and F. W. Ramsey of Cleveland, president of the Y. M. C. A. of North America; four educators, under the chairmanship of President Knowles of the College of the Pacific; five editors and publicists, including Chester Rowell of California and C. C. Morrison, editor of the *Christian Century;* five social workers, including Mrs. Ralph Adams Cram of Boston, chairman of the Committee for the Education of Russian Youth in Exile, and Miss Louise Gates, general secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association of Toledo; two ministers, the Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam of Los Angeles, and Dean William Scarlet of Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis; one lawyer, Frederick Winston of Minneapolis; and one physician studying the health situation, Dr. Clarence Gamble of the Medical School faculty of the University of Pennsylvania.

We used every effort to prevent the trip from being "personally conducted," our being shown only that which was most favorable. One in the party had been in Russia four times, another three, and two others once. Four of the group knew Russian, while twelve spoke European languages with which educated Russians are conversant. We used twelve Russian interpreters, the majority of whom had learned English under the old *regime* and were in sympathy with it rather than with the new order.

I was deputized to enter a month before the rest to collect all available statistics and printed data, as well as to arrange an itinerary and interviews with important government leaders. I spent two hours with Stalin, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, who, as majority leader, has more power than any one else. We had two interviews with Chicherin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who spoke with extreme frankness. Others interviewed included: Lunacharsky, Minister of Education; the Vice-President of the Republic; the Chairman of the Supreme Economic Council; the leaders of the various co-operative movements and banks; the head of the railway system; the General Secretary of the Trade Union; and the leaders of the various religious bodies.

We traveled freely, interviewing both friends and foes of the government. Some journeyed to Southern Ukraine, the Crimea, the Caucasus; one went into the Don Coal Basin; still another made several trips into the peasant districts. The party as a whole remained for a total of two weeks in Moscow, then visited Nishni Novogorod, the headquarters of the All-Russian fair and the home of the Acting Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. From this city they went down the Volga River, stopping to see the peasant villages, and finally reaching Kazan, the capital of the Tartar Republic. Returning to Moscow by rail, they visited Leningrad and then separated to leave Russia by practically every available route; through Siberia, Poland, Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, and by airplane from Moscow to Berlin.

In this article I do not speak for any one except myself, but I think the others will agree that we found a group of Russian leaders who were, for the most part, sincerely trying to establish an order which, so they thought, was to be of benefit to the common people. No one could talk intimately with them without being convinced that they are not the bloodthirsty monsters so often painted in our American press. Most of them have served long terms in the Czar's jail for revolutionary activities, and, in consequence, have had their ideas warped. One does not agree with them, but one is forced to recognize the sacrificial devotion with which they have suffered ridicule, imprisonment and exile for the greater part of their lives.

We found industry slowly improving. From its low point of fourteen per cent of the normal production under the Czar, it has now reached nearly ninety per cent. The average worker is being paid less than a dollar a day in wages, but he is getting a host of subsidiary benefits, all the way from free housing to insurance against illness, accident, and unemployment, together with annual two week vacations with pay.

The conditions in agriculture are worse than in industry, but every year sees an advance. To be sure, the peasants have to sell their grain cheap and purchase at high prices. This is necessary because Russia is trying to build up her industries so that

they will be independent of the rest of the world. There are Communists who would tax the peasant even more and sell to him still higher. Stalin and the majority are opposed to this policy. They wish to treat the peasant and the worker on equal terms.

Our group agreed on certain outstanding weaknesses in the Russian situation. First, the Bolsheviks might be termed "dogmatic atheists." They do not have an attitude of reverent agnosticism, such as was held by Darwin, but they are actively fighting religion. The famous motto inscribed on the city hall in Moscow, "Religion is the Opium of the People," typifies their conviction. After having been in Russia for a year under the Czar's *regime,* I can well understand this attitude. It will be remembered that, in spite of the beautiful mysticism of the Russian Church, it was allied with the Czar's government, in fact supported and corrupted by it. Stalin the present ruler, started his training in a theological seminary. He was excluded for reading the writings of Karl Marx. Many priests acted as informants against revolutionists. It is small wonder that the revolutionary leaders began to feel that religion was merely superstition in alliance with autocracy. They are now trying to substitute for religious faith a philosophy based on science. Unfortunately, they are not content merely to oppose religion, but have gone so far as to prohibit its organized teaching to children. To be sure, the churches are permitted to function, and any religious denomination which had Sunday schools prior to the revolution may continue them now. No denomination, however, can inaugurate a new program of Sunday schools. There is also rigid censorship of all printed material. While these severe restrictions are being applied to religious believers, communistic supporters have free right to propagandize anywhere in favor of atheism. Utter nonsense is being circulated as fact; for instance, it is denied that Christ ever lived, or it is asserted that he actually was a libertine.

In the second place, we found the Bolsheviks afflicted with what might be termed "dogmatic communism." They are convinced that communism is absolutely good and will solve every problem throughout the world. This logically leads to belief in world revolution and the overthrow of capitalism. Closely allied with this theory is the belief held, it may be remembered, by many of the early Christians, that this new gospel should be extended by the sword. To be sure, the Bolsheviks believe that injustice is their chief ally, and that it is impossible to use force where injustice is not widespread. They differ with Americans as to the extent of injustice in other countries. For example, they believe that our capitalistic industrial mechanism is so corrupt and rotten that it justifies revolution. Except for the handful of pacifists in America, most Americans agree with them as to the use of force, but disagree as to the extent of our own evils. Although we do not ordinarily actively aid foreign peoples in breaking the bands of oppression, we consider it praiseworthy to spring to the aid of a foreign country, such as Belgium, if it is being shamefully maltreated. The Bolsheviks believe not only that gross injustice should be overthrown, but that they should give assistance to oppressed peoples throughout the world. This danger of Bolshevism must be frankly recognized.

In the third place, the Communists do not believe in liberty as we know it. They frankly advocate *the dictatorship of the proletariat.* Since all the workers and peasants are not intellectually awake to the needs of the social order, the Bolsheviks assume the position of an advance guard who must guide the rest until all are genuinely communized. This means that at present a million members, aided by two million young Communists or Komsomols, rule Russia. There is a large measure of liberty in criticizing the government, but no group can organize an opposition party, so that, in effect, you have a monopoly of legality for the Communist Party. The resulting dictatorship has caused severe injustice to the upper seven per cent of the population, although it may be retribution for their previous indifference to the sufferings of the masses under the Czar. The Bolsheviks have thus substituted oppression of a small minority for a former injustice to an overwhelming majority.

While we must clearly recognize these evils, in fairness to the Bolsheviks we must not overlook certain outstanding achievements which may benefit the Russian people and which certainly deserve to be carefully studied. The Bolsheviks are keeping the basic natural resources under the control of the government. They offer leases to private individuals on terms which involve the complete return of factory, mine, or railroad to the government at the end of a fixed period. In the United States we have adopted the policy of giving railroads, mines, and public utilities to private capital in perpetuity. The Bolsheviks consider this an inexcusable blunder. Take two examples of American concessions now in force in Moscow. In the one case, an American has to build a pencil factory and return it to the government within ten years. During this period, however, because of the high tariff he expects to make one thousand per cent on his investment. The Harrimans have a concession in manganese which runs fifty years, after which time it reverts to the government. Perhaps by that time there will be left only a mountain of mined dirt. The Bolsheviks, however, claim that in the interim science may make this worn out property worth millions. In that case the Russian government and people will gain the unearned increment.

Another experiment, which already has its supporters in this country, is occupational representation. Whatever the evils inherent in their political dictatorship, they are trying a new method of occupational instead of geographical election. Thus the Housewives' Union and the Bakery Workers each elect their own representative in the various Soviet councils.

An outstanding characteristic of the Bolsheviks is their willingness to change any theory to make it actually work. One frankly said to me, "We are working on a trial and error basis, and in the past it has been mostly error." While they hold rigidly to their belief in communism, they often change all the minor practical details. For example, they have gone through a period of war communism, when everything was being run by the government—the street cars were free, and no one could secure food except by ticket—to a period when private initiative and private industry are being strongly aided. They started out with a uniform wage scale and a bitter hostility to piece-rate wages. They now have seventeen different wage rates in each factory, and most laborers are paid by an output test.

It must also be recognized that, on paper, the Bolsheviks have the most advanced labor laws in the

world. We have already spoken of the social insurance and vacations with pay. A working mother is entitled to two months vacation, with pay, both before and after childbirth. The worker also has at his disposal some of the finest rest homes in the world, the summer palaces of the former nobility in the Caucasus and the Crimea. The Trade Union is recognized by the government and has its own representative in every legislative body.

The Bolsheviks believe in complete equality for subject nationalities. Nowhere else are "inferior" races treated with such consideration. All the various national republics have complete autonomy in local affairs. This policy, invented by Stalin, the present ruler, is probably doing more to endear Bolshevism to Eastern peoples than any mere propaganda. What other Christian nation has abrogated its unjust treaties with China? What nation except Russia has refused to send gunboats and military arms to protect her property interests during the period of civil war in China? Because of this policy the Soviets have won the support of the famous Christian general, Fung, who was in Moscow while we were there.

Bolshevism also stands against exploitation, not only in Russia but throughout the world. Today it challenges capitalistic greed and imperialistic brutality wherever these evils occur.

It is my belief that Bolshevik propaganda can circulate freely in America from the Atlantic to the Pacific with no more danger of our adopting communism than of our accepting the German Kaiser or the Japanese Emperor. On the other hand, the ally of Bolshevism is injustice, and wherever there is injustice there propaganda may take root. Communism thus becomes one barometer of the extent of injustice, and as such it may have some utility value.

Christians should be glad, too, that there is one country in the world which stands frankly opposed to the profit motive. All over that great country people are being taught that it is not only reprehensible to serve the God of Profit, but that it is damnable. A man can still work for money in Russia, but he is considered a moral leper and a social outcast if he does. No communist may accept more than 225 rubles a month, except such compensation as he may receive for his writings. This means that his salary may not be more than $112.50 a month, or $3.75 a day. The Bolsheviks are frankly out to give every good thing to the poor, even at the expense of the rich. It is difficult for an unprejudiced American to understand why, if Russia in her bitter poverty can provide unemployment insurance, America, with all her colossal wealth and efficiency, can not; why, if Russia can have adequate child labor laws, America can not.

One comes back from Russia with mixed feelings, but our group was unanimous in believing that the American Government would do well to enter immediately into conference with Russia, looking toward recognition. It is a curious anomaly that we recognize the Mussolini Government of Italy and refuse even to confer with Russia. In 1923 President Coolidge, in his message to Congress, offered to reach an agreement with the Russian Government. The Bolsheviks immediately accepted his terms and asked for a conference. From that day to this the Government of the United States has refused to confer with Russia. I talked for two hours with Stalin and with Chicherin, the Foreign Minister. Again and again they reiterated their desire to settle their differences with the American Government, as outlined by the President. They likewise made absolutely clear that this could not be done except through conference. It is the first time in the history of our republic that a great nation, representing one hundred and forty million people, with a government which is more stable and, curiously enough, longer in power than almost any other European government, which has now been recognized by every other leading government in the world, should be refused recognition for nine long years. Every Christian American should consider whether in this respect our treatment of Russia is in accordance with the spirit of Christ, whether unfriendliness is calculated to decrease or increase the excesses and violences of Bolshevism.

I can not forbear to mention also the difficulties of the Russian Church. Deprived of the income which it formerly received from the government, it is forced to appeal to a people who have been torn by ten years of world war and civil conflict. They are facing bitter persecution and hostility from those in authority. Now, if ever, is the opportunity to change the Russian Church and help it to a more progressive attitude and practise. The Russian Orthodox Church has two theological seminaries struggling to maintain themselves amidst the handicaps of a revolutionary situation, and the American Church could well afford to give of her abundance. It is my belief that one hundred thousand dollars expended now for modernizing and helping theological education in Russia would be worth many millions ten years from now. I am hoping to raise some funds for this purpose, and I should be glad to forward to the Russian Orthodox Theological Seminary any money which is entrusted to my care. Bolshevik priests implored my aid in securing literature regarding Sunday schools, social service, and, most of all apologetics. Corrupt and inefficient leaders are being driven silently and steadily out of the church, and it is going to be manned by those who are sincere enough to be persecuted and who are ready to make changes, regardless of their cost. When history writes its verdict, will America be proud or ashamed of the part we have played?

JEROME DAVIS.

The Young Dreamer

You dare to dream your undreamed dreams of youth:
To touch with unsoiled fingers opening buds;
To reach for moonbeams in the silver sky:
To hold the candle to the crystal mirror;
To race with destiny to check the rising floods.

There is no night—just rushlight and the dawn;
There is no age—just greening of the blade;
A vast mild earth to grasp within your virile arms,
With capes of warmth about your shoulders laid.

Cotton clouds of April ever piling, rolling, flying,
Elm-buds swelling, bursting, withering, dying—
Dare dream of your undreamed dreams in all your years
With eyes that see through laughter and through tears.

SAMUEL MARION LOWDEN.

Correspondence

A Reply From Dr. Strong

Editor of UNITY:

Your issue of November 15 came today and I note the letter, in "Correspondence," from Myron F. Foster, of Elgin, Ill., in which he makes comment on my article on the "Peace Letter to the President." He goes rather thoroughly over the ground of objection to the pacifist's position. I can not, of course, reply in detail, but will not intentionally omit any important point made by Mr. Foster.

I wish first to commend his spirit. Further, I can understand his position, for it has not been many years since I could have added my signature to his. I will not say that my eyes have been opened, for this would be egotism. I can only say that I have been driven to the convictions which are different from those I held twenty years ago. I will only ask him to listen to my experience. To do this best let me point out what seem to be several mistakes he has made.

1. He refers to the other peoples who are "not capable of being assimilated as a desirable element of our population." I have gone out of my way to get acquainted with the Chinese and Japanese of Seattle and have spent some time on every continent except South America. I know of no people who would not quickly make good American citizens. I did not believe this once, I had to learn it. So, I am not afraid.

2. He refers to "veiled threats on the part of Japan and Italy." In my judgment, this is imaginary.

3. He refers to the Civil War and the War of Revolution. In my opinion it is debatable whether the War of the Revolution which split the English people in two, not always friendly parts, and the Civil War which split the North and South apart—neither of these two wounds being healed—benefited mankind. But admitting that these two wars were beneficial—a position I held twenty years ago—I am conscious that the modern world is an entirely different thing, and war today is a different thing. Humanity is no longer dwelling in separate, war-tight compartments. The world is one, one house. This fact alone is sufficient to call war a crime, while it once might have been glory.

4. He refers to maintaining a righteous peace only by means of an adequate army and navy. My observation leads me to believe that an army and navy destroy a righteous peace.

5. He says that our navy is away below the ratio which the United States sanctioned at the last disarmament conference. This is a mistake. So far as I can learn, the nations that entered into the compact have kept it.

6. I said I could not imagine Britain arbitrating with China. I meant that when a nation arms, she loses the spirit of arbitration and justice.

7. The weakness of China is referred to as a reason for our arming. This sounds reasonable, but I would intimate that China has not yet run her course. She has been going for 4,000 years and the United States only 150. China has shown what she could do with the boycott by ruining British Commerce for nearly a year. In my judgment China and Gandhi have already shown a little of the power of non-cooperation and love—and that method is but in its infancy.

8. Mr. Foster and I both believe in the "survival of the fittest." He is thinking in terms of brute-force, I of soul-force.

9. He refers to Dr. Hale's book "The Man Without A Country"—and intimates that one who will not defend his country does not deserve to live under its protection. Two things. I confess that I no longer think in national terms—although my folks have been here nearly 300 years—but I likewise love the British, the Japanese, the Germans, the Russians, the Chinese, as I love my own. Further, I feel that I am the most loyal to my country when I oppose the use of armed force.

10. Mr. Foster refers to the United States signing a treaty with Belgium guaranteeing her neutrality. I think he is mistaken, as to the fact. However, it is generally agreed that all the participating nations were to blame for the Great War.

What I have written is to reveal the fact that while I once thought that the security and welfare of peoples were to be found in military force, I have been driven to the conviction that reliance upon armed force is a delusion and superstition; and that in our present complex and unified human society, war and preparation for war amount to a crime. There is a better way. It is this better way I desire to go and to persuade by brothers and sisters to go. This way calls for the discarding of guns, bombs and poison-gas. It also requires patience, sacrifice and tolerance to find it.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Seattle, Nov. 17

Further Comment

Editor of UNITY:

The anti-pacifist letter by Myron F. Foster in your issue of November 15 is a marvel of inconsistency and unsound reasoning. The whole argument is that the only way to guarantee peace is to build an army and navy of staggering proportions. The flaw in this jingoistic theory is that it never has worked, as the very cases cited by the writer conclusively show. He says that England, France, Germany and the United States had guaranteed Belgium's neutrality, but that Germany violated that agreement and England and the United States were slow in coming to the defense. He overlooks the fact that Germany and France were both prepared for war, and their preparedness precipitated the war instead of averting it. Without preparedness, would Germany have attempted to reach France through Belgium, or would France have been so ready for the long awaited war as historians have shown her to have been? Preparedness has never yet averted war. It is inevitably the case that the nation which is most prepared is the most warlike, the most overbearing, and the greatest menace to the peace and happiness of the world.

How about China, to quote another of this writer's citations? Before our western "civilization" began its systematic exploitation of China with the help of gunboats and other forms of preparedness, the "heathen" Chinese were the outstanding examples of the doctrine of non-resistance, which Christ preached and practiced, applied on a large scale. It was a nation of pacifists. This was ended by the imperialism of the "prepared, Christian" nations of the west, with the result that that splendid spirit of peaceful living is being crushed, to be replaced by the rapidly solidifying nationalistic sentiment. The inevitable outcome will be war unless the western nations make radical changes in their attitude toward China.

I foresee that your correspondent will reply: "See that is just what I argued: The unprepared nation is always preyed upon by the prepared nation." But before he makes that superficial answer, I want to call his attention to the fact that his original argument was that the only way to avoid war is to be prepared for war. If he will stop to think before he answers, he will realize that this trouble brewing in the Orient is not the result of Chinese pacifism but solely of western preparedness. If the western nations had not prepared for war, they would not have attempted to bully China, and if Chinese people, 400,000,000 strong, are finally aroused to fight, the war will be the direct result of the militarism of the western nations.

No "prepared" nation has ever yet avoided war. It is usually engaged in war or threatened with war. It is too ready to resent any reflection upon its "honor," too eager to fly to the protection of its "interests" at home or abroad, too domineering, too imperialistic, too un-Christian. In short, such a nation "will not arbitrate, for she will have lost the power to arbitrate." The great point of the pacifist movement, which is overlooked by this writer, is that it is not confined to the United States. In fact, we are rather backward in this regard. The aim of the pacifists, as has been stated so often in Unity, is to outlaw all war and to abolish preparedness in all countries. But if anything is to be accomplished, it must be started somewhere. So long as the race for preparedness continues, there is little hope for peace. My ambition is to see my country take a leading part in this constructive attempt, rather than to prepare for destruction.

Brutes can fight. Fighting was the chief business of the race in its barbaric and semi-civilized stages. It is

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

FRIDAY MORNING FORUM ABRAHAM LINCOLN CENTRE

December 3—KIRBY PAGE on

Dictatorships—Black and Red

"A Thoroughgoing Pacifist and one of our best informed students of present-day European conditions."—*John Haynes Holmes.*

A Great Opportunity—Don't Miss It

An Announcement

Anna Louise Strong, now in Russia, expects to be in America, the first of the year. She is dated to speak in Boston, January 2, for the Old South Forum, and at other points during that month. Anyone in the region of the Atlantic States wishing to make arrangements for lectures during January, may write to her representatives, c/o Community Church, 12 Park Ave., New York City, or 508 Garfield St., Seattle. She speaks for the Chicago Women's Club, February 4 and expects to spend part of the month of March on a lecture-circuit in Texas and Florida.

GOLDEN RULE SUNDAY

International Golden Rule Sunday comes into our calendar and into our contemporary life at a time when the world needs its lesson and its benign influence. In our calendar it finds a place midway between the feasts of Thanksgiving and Christmas—these two red-letter days associated in our minds with abundance and rejoicing and good cheer.

These two established festivals also remind us of those less fortunate than ourselves, and afford welcome occasion for kindness in domestic circles and for generosity at large. But the observance of Golden Rule Sunday, as a new day in the calendar of civilized peoples, has a definite and explicit significance of its own. It is to unify humanity through application of the principle of charity. Certainly it should affect us in the use of all our time; but this can best be achieved by the setting apart of one particular day.

Golden Rule Sunday makes its historic appearance at the ending of the World War with its aftermath of bitterness, poverty, and international ill-will. It evokes the spirit of universal brotherhood, and makes its call for mutual service of a practical kind in order to counteract the hatreds engendered by the recent period of conflict and strife.

Observed last year in fifty countries, it is fitting, as President Coolidge has suggested in his letter, that the beneficent use of this day should be extended to relieve distress and banish bitterness elsewhere. Appropriately, the benefits from Golden Rule Sunday were first applied to orphan children of Bible lands whence we received the Golden Rule precept. But the Golden Rule is not local or parochial. It is not limited by time or space. This great maxim for conduct, as given 2,000 years ago and invoked for the orphan children of the Near East, is applicable to the distressed and underprivileged wherever found. If this service can be extended through the increasing observance of International Golden Rule Sunday, it will do much toward removing the misunderstandings and narrow rivalries that prey upon the moral and economic welfare of nations.

ALBERT SHAW.

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Czecho-Slovakia.—Negotiations have been undertaken between leading Czech and German politicians; this represents the first step towards an improvement in relations between the two nationalities. The advance was made in the first place by persons belonging to more conservative circles. The directory of the German Social Democratic party has also adopted a resolution expressing the desire for closer co-operation with the Czech Social Democrats. In an interview, President Masaryk has declared the necessity of adopting a policy of concession, not to be interpreted as weakness, towards the German minority, in order to enlist them in the service of the State. He would never adopt an aggressive policy towards this minority. It was the duty, as well as the right of Germans, to take part in the Government. The question of political co-operation in the future is being warmly discussed in the German and Czech press.

The Pan-European Union formed a branch in Czecho-Slovakia on September 11. There are, provisionally, two autonomous sections, one German and one Czecho-Slovakian. If necessary, a Hungarian section will also be formed. Outstanding personalities in economic and political life have been elected as leaders.

A Great Step Forward towards reconciliation between Czechs and Germans was made at the gathering of German Socialist Youth at Bodenbach, near the frontier between Germany and Czecho-Slovakia on August 28 and 29. For the first time Czech Social Democratic Youth were in the majority, and German and Czech speakers alike took part in the festival and demonstration.

Conscientious Objectors.—Frank Lederer, of Prague, and Josef Levy, of Drnek, are undergoing mental examination at the Psychological Department of the garrison hospital in Prague. Kratochvil, of Moravia, has appealed against a sentence of five months' imprisonment.

Finland.—*The 19th World Conference of the Y. M. C. A.*—the first since the war—was held at Helsingfors during August. It was stated that the Y. M. C. A. is now firmly established in 40 countries, and there is growing co-operation with the Greek, Syrian and Roman churches. The delegates—about 1,500—were divided into nearly 50 groups, each representing about twelve countries, for discussion of the results of the questionnaire on the problems of international and inter-

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much easier to fight over a disagreement than to arbitrate, but the triumph of civilization will come in the abolition of all war—or the triumph of war will come in the abolition of civilization. War on its modern, commercialized scale, world-wide in scope, is too dangerous. Unless we are sufficiently intelligent to conquer this menace, it will get beyond control. It is not inconceivable that the use of new discoveries in chemistry and physics, together with the famine and pestilence that are so often the companions of war, might wipe out the race entirely.

It is not very convincing to quote Washington's plan for compulsory military training. In the first place, the forces leading to war were not so well understood in his day as now. In the second place, and very fortunately, his plan was not put into effect. Who can tell what might have been the result if it had? Certainly our country would not have been the nation it is today. It would have fought more wars, as militaristic nations always do; it would have been far more imperialistic than it has been; it would have been a nation of military slaves rather than of individualistic Americans; or it might have been destroyed as a nation, as has happened in other cases, because of its excessive militaristic and imperialistic ambitions.

There is no more dangerous idea than that advanced again by this writer as to things which "a self-respecting nation could not submit to arbitration." Is it more self-respecting to try to settle questions by the primitive method of force than to try to arbitrate them in the manner of civilized, intelligent people? Is it more self-respecting to enter into an orgy of slaughter and destruction than to yield a little from one's stand? There was a time when one's personal honor was so highly regarded that at the least fancied offense the only course was to fight a duel. We have advanced beyond that stage, but too many people seem not yet to have reached the point of discarding that same ridiculous, archaic touchiness with regard to national honor. I have too much regard for my country to relish seeing her engaged in a common brawl. No self-respecting gentleman would take part in a street fight. Why then should a self-respecting nation try to settle its disputes by a vulgar fracas on a larger and more brutal scale?

Very truly yours,

Chicago, Illinois. ROGER ALAN CRANE.

racial questions, the authority of the family, and the sex question. The younger groups were chiefly interested in questions of war and peace, economic and social problems—not in dogmatic theology, but in the sincere application of the Christian spirit to life. Emphasis was laid on the race problem by Indian, Chinese and Negro representatives. At the final campfire, after each of the twenty-five national groups had contributed a log to the flames and uttered a greeting to the boys of the world, the boys repeated each in his mother tongue the words: "We leave this fire with a vision of a great Christian Fellowship, conscious of differences but resolved to love."

The War Resister's International (Finnish Section) has issued a courageous appeal to the Protection Guards, calling upon them to put away their arms and "let peace and reconciliation begin." Two members of the section have been arrested for distributing the appeal to soldiers at a military festival at Helsingfors. After three hours' examination they were released.

New Zealand.—*The National Peace Council of New Zealand* has been investigating the operation of Conscription in that country, and has discovered that in the last ten years over 40,000 young men have been prosecuted for refusing to bear arms, that convictions are taking place at the present time at the rate of 2,000 per year and that about forty to fifty trials take place each week.

Norway.—The "Storthing" has refused to ratify the all-inclusive treaties of arbitration with Sweden and Denmark. The reason for this is that within certain nationalistic circles there is an objection to such a treaty with Denmark on the ground that it would prevent a satisfactory settlement of some old disputes.

Roumania.—*An Anti-Terrorist League* was initiated in July by a manifesto published in the democratic press, by a number of Roumanian intellectuals, including professors of Jassy University and Bukarest Unversity, C. Mille, director of the paper *Lupta,* M. Sadoveanu, a writer and member of the Roumanian Academy, C. I. Costa-Foru, secretary of the Roumanian section of the League of the Rights of Man, Eugen Relgis, founder of the First Humanitarian Group and other journalists, students and workers. The manifesto protests against the use of moral and physical terror, as practised by the government. It calls upon all conscientious citizens to unite in defense of their natural and legal rights of free speech and association, and has already received a considerable response.

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1926-1927

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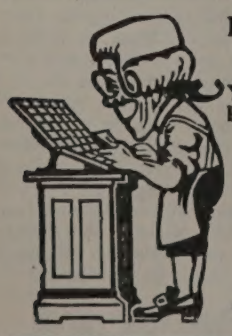

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